



Evans and Novak

POLITICS AND ENVIRONMENT

WASHINGTON.

William D. Ruckelshaus, the dynamic enforcer of environmental laws for the Nixon Administration, is poised to oppose the will of influential White House political aides and perhaps President Nixon's own inclinations in the nation's hottest battle over industrial pollution.

The case involves Reserve Mining Co. of Silver Bay, Minn., dumping some 67,000 tons of iron mining wastes into Lake Superior over two decades. Early in January, Ruckelshaus is expected to order Reserve Mining to convert its operations to dump wastes in ways that won't pollute the lake. That would require getting rid of most of it on land, thereby setting off a protracted court struggle.

This will climax weeks of struggle within the Administration over the wisdom of cracking down on industrial polluters who happen to be generous Republican campaign contributors. Indeed, the Reserve Mining case typifies the Nixon Administration's split personality on environmental questions.

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Clearly, President Nixon did not calculate the cost to Republican businessmen when he declared war against pollution in his 1970 State of the Union address. Since then, his ardor as an environmentalist has cooled. In private and public—most recently in Detroit on Sept. 23—Mr. Nixon disclaims any intention of making industry a "whipping boy" or "scapegoat."

But the President's views are moderate compared with those of Secretary of

Commerce Maurice Stans, who sees an environmental conspiracy against private industry. Stans is supported by the two White House aides with intimate ties to big business: Peter Flanigan and the omnipresent Charles W. Colson. In the view of these friends of industry, Ruckelshaus and his Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) have capitulated to the conservation freaks.

The Commerce-White House group has been particularly upset with what it considers EPA harassment of Reserve Mining, whose two shareholders—Republic Steel Corp. and Armco Steel Corp.—are part of the Republican Party's fundraising apparatus in Ohio. Willis Boyer, chairman of Republic Steel, is a vice-chairman of the Ohio Republican finance committee. C. William Verity, head of Armco Steel, is an active party fund-raiser. Boyer and Verity are members of the National Industrial Pollution Advisory Council set up by Stans.

Nor do these Republican businessmen hesitate to use their connections. When EPA ordered Armco to stop dumping wastes in the Houston, Tex., ship channel, Verity contacted Flanigan at the White House. The result: negotiations giving Armco a six-month delay.

The industrialists were exerting similar pressure in the Reserve Mining case, including a White House meeting between company officials and Flanigan. But Ruckelshaus put his foot down this time. He explicitly informed the White House staff and Stans that he absolutely would brook no interference from them. Up to now, his strong stance has

not been overruled by the President.

So tough a posture could not be dared by a mere bureaucrat. Ruckelshaus is a formidable figure back home in Indiana, with a bright future in electoral politics. More important, as an Assistant Attorney General before moving to EPA, Ruckelshaus developed a warm relationship with a political adviser who dwarfs even Colson in influence: Attorney General John Mitchell.

Consequently, although Ruckelshaus has no easier access to the President's mind and heart than other top Administration officials, he does have an indirect route through Mitchell. Using the Attorney General as an unlikely conduit, Ruckelshaus argues the environmental issue to Mr. Nixon.

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Moreover, he is buttressed on the Reserve Mining case by popular support in the three states bordering Lake Superior. The governors of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan all are demanding on-land disposal. So is the politically astute Senate Republican whip, Sen. Robert Griffin of Michigan.

In fact, Reserve Mining's arrogance in refusing to curb pollution voluntarily has enraged citizens in the area. Quite apart from the issues, backing down would be bad politics for Mr. Nixon in the Upper Midwest.

That is not the viewpoint at the White House and Commerce Department, however. Conversion to on-land disposal would cost Reserve Mining between \$48 million and \$75 million in capital expenditures and \$10 million to \$14 million in extra annual operating costs. Is this the proper reward, ask Mr. Nixon's political advisers, for generosity to the President's election campaign fund? That is the thinking Ruckelshaus is bucking in trying to clean up the environment.



James A. Wechsler

BOMBS AND CONSCIENCE

In unleashing the massive air war on North Vietnam, President Nixon has gambled on the view that Americans are generally devoid of any deep moral sense. The assumption in Washington is that most of us could not care less how many more Asians are slaughtered and how much more of Vietnam—and Cambodia and Laos—transformed into a wasteland as long as the exodus of American ground troops continues.

Perhaps this appraisal will be vindicated, but Mr. Nixon's reading of the American spirit has not always proved infallible. At the moment only handfuls of Vietnam veterans are engaging in demonstrative protest. Yet the thinness of their ranks may be no true measure of the unease and frustration felt by many quiet citizens over the escalation of the bombings.

And the returns are far from in. Amid the thick censorship imposed on the operation, no real picture of the damage being wrought is available. Neither is there even any solid indication of how many U. S. airmen have been killed or captured in an exercise advertised as an inexpensive way of punishing the adversary and "protecting our troops."

Finally it is still too early to assess the impact of the disenchantment that will ensue when Hanoi once more refuses to crumble under the pounding, and the illusion of invincible air power is blasted again.

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In fact the return to the bombing fantasies of the Johnson era is a confession that "Vietnamization" has brought neither peace nor security to South Vietnam; it has been accompanied by a widening of the war front and a deterioration of the Cambodian and Laotian positions; it has also produced the threat of entrapment of the reduced U. S. force.

These consequences were foreseen long ago by many anti-war spokesmen who were imploring Mr. Nixon to undertake fresh political initiatives. Instead, like his predecessor, he chose to "see it through with Thieu." He deflected attention from discussions of a political settlement by unfolding plans for his journey to Peking.

Until yesterday the Chinese Communists remained highly cooperative, maintaining a stolid silence about the bombings. But now, amid sharp taunts from Moscow and deepening discord in the Maoist movement throughout the world, they have voiced verbal displeasure. Eventually they may be obliged to call off their impending rendezvous with Nixon or risk isolation in the Communist realm. For Hanoi shows no inclination to roll over in the interest of promoting Sino-American unity.

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There is a quality of sullen desperation in the American apologies for the air assaults. News conferences held by Secretary of Defense Laird and other officials are alternately unresponsive and disingenuous. After the abdication of Lyndon Johnson, it seemed implausible that another Administration would find itself bogged down in Vietnam adventures that require large-scale deception—and double-talk—in dealing with the American people. But the most doleful duplicities of the Johnson era are being reenacted now.

Thus Secretary Laird, a man who does not dissemble comfortably, reached hastily for a long drink of water the other day after solemnly—and haltingly—explaining that the new air war was provoked, among other things, by the other side's refusal to negotiate seriously. Is there anything in the history of this war to indicate that Hanoi will be more disposed to alter its terms under the pressure of U. S. bombs? Is there any doubt that the new aerial offensive is motivated by old delusions of military success rather than by any yearning for national discourse?

Meanwhile, in Saigon, a spokesman for the U. S. command explained yesterday, according to the Associated Press, that "limited duration" does not refer to a present time span but means air strikes go on "until such time as it is evaluated that the threat [to U. S. forces] is no longer there." The dispatch continued:

"As to the breadth of the term military targets and the remoteness of threats against which a 'protective reaction' could be launched, Major Hanson [the spokesman] said he had no information."

In short, anything goes, indefinitely.

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Mr. Nixon's calculated risk, as suggested at the start, is that the country has been tranquilized by the withdrawal statistics and has lost any concern for the Asian victims of our bombs.

Even national self-interest would dictate some apprehension about flying blindly into the new trouble we are inviting.

But admittedly the urgent question now is whether there is an American conscience, or whether all inner doubts have been finally sedated by the news that there will probably be no further draft calls until May.



Pete Hamill

THE BEST OF '71

This is the season for lists of everything, from best movie to best-dressed dogs. After polling my friends, my neighbors and myself, I've come up with the following. In some cases, there aren't enough of anything to make a convenient 10, so the lists are shorter than usual. They have no specific order of excellence. Anyway, Happy New Year. P. H.

THE BEST MOVIES

1. The French Connection
2. The Ballad of Joe Hill
3. Desperate Characters
4. Taking Off
5. The first 25 minutes of "The Hospital"
6. Going Home
7. The Last Picture Show
8. The Boy Friend
9. Johnny Got His Gun
10. Modern Times

THE BEST SALOONS

1. The Lion's Head
2. Elaine's
3. The Coach Inn (Brooklyn)
4. Mike Manuche's
5. Farrell's (Brooklyn)
6. P. J. Clark's
7. Twenty One
8. Mutchie's
9. Casey's (Village)
10. Sonny's, formerly Boop's (Brooklyn)
11. Tommy Harkins' (Brooklyn)
12. The Ovington Lounge (Brooklyn)
13. Gallagher's 33

THE BEST PUBLIC MEN

1. Paul O'Dwyer
2. Daniel Ellsberg
3. William F. Buckley Jr. (The Edgar Smith case alone qualifies him.)
4. Meade Esposito

5. Chou En-lai
6. Brooks Robinson
7. George McGovern
8. I. F. Stone
9. Joe Frazier
10. Muhammad Ali

THE BEST PUBLIC WOMEN

1. Shirley MacLaine
2. Shirley Chisholm
3. Gloria Steinem
4. Elaine of Elaine's
5. Margaret Gardner
6. Dorothy Schiff
7. Sister Rosaleen
8. Bernadette Devlin
9. Dorothy Pittman
10. Bella Abzug

BEST ORGANIZATIONS

1. The Provisional IRA
2. The Official IRA

BEST PUNCHLINES

1. Now you take my daughter to Palermo!

2. You do, if you give it to Big Looie!

3. Let's have a happy ending and have the baby born dead.

BEST TREATS

1. Sada Thompson in "Twigs."
2. The stone crabs at Joe's Pier 52.
3. Cliff Gorman in "Lenny."
4. Wilfrid Sheed writing about anything.
5. Doug Ireland's laugh.
6. Ann-Margret in "Carnal Knowledge."
7. The hoofers in "Follies."
8. David Levine's paintings at the Brooklyn Museum.
9. The chase in "The French Connection."
10. Larry Merchant's columns from Oklahoma.

COMEBACKS OF THE YEAR

1. Lester Bromberg
2. The Pirates
3. Ted Kennedy

WHAT WE COULD HAVE DONE MOST WITHOUT

1. Hubert Humphrey
2. The revival of the Saturday Evening Post
3. The jukebox at the Lion's Head.

Those Messy White House Visitors

From "Courage and Hesitation," notes by Allen Drury, photographs by Fred Maroon (Doubleday, \$12.95).

"I find it kind of embarrassing and rather heartbreaking, how the public treats this house," Mrs. Bailey [the housekeeper] says, her pleasant, efficient face creased with a rather helpless disapproval. "Of course I know they regard it as theirs, and of course it is, but people will put children on antique chairs, they will sit down and eat food and scatter crumbs on the rugs. They will touch the tapestries and the wallpaper and get them dirty. They will throw cigarette butts in the fireplaces. There seems to be little real respect among the public who visit here. We have police stationed all over the house to warn them, but it doesn't seem to make too much difference."

Don't Hamill rarely misses an opportunity to play you. Do you know him from the Bobbly Hamill campaign? Henry

1972: Classic by Day, Sexy by Night

By RUTH PRESTON

CONTRAST IN fashion will provide something for everyone in 1972. Classics will continue but nudity will be the big news. Men grown accustomed to new grooming products will seek more professional face and hair treatments, in salons becoming increasingly coed.

Most significantly, luxury stores will be serving up more bread and butter fashions, not only to cater to a wider public but in response to the away-from-obvious-luxury mood of the times.

Here are some leaders' predictions:

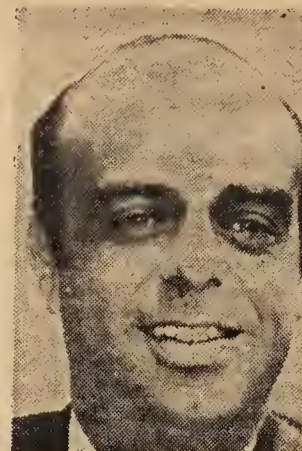
Adele Simpson: Fashion will be created out of life's demands. There will be several categories of dressing. Sports clothes for the girl who runs around the neighborhood doing her chores all day. Quality clothes for people in the public eye. For evening, clothes that say, "Look at me, I'm feminine . . ." Or "Look at me, I'm sexy, I do my body exercises and can wear those bareback dresses."

Donald Brooks: "The surface of alluring, glamorous clothes hasn't even been touched. That black turtleneck sweater and skirt uniform suddenly looks like hell, now that girls are beginning to emerge as very sexy butterflies." For day, Brooks believes girls are getting a bit bored with all their sportswear separates and predicts the return of the dress, not tailored but clingy, close to the body. Overly constructed clothes may never return but, for a different look and feel, designers will use enough construction in clothes to help the body.

Sidney Gittler, Ohrbach's coat and suit consultant: Watch short coats and toppers, tent coats, clutch coats (so how do we manage all our totes and our carry-it-yourself luggage?). Look for dolman sleeves, loads of raincoats, especially the short ones chic with pants, tailored suits with broader padded shoulders, moving skirts, separate blouses. The dress and jacket costume is almost out. Pants suits will have wider cuffed trousers, closer shorter jackets, almost bellhop. Cashmere will be THE fabric.

Irene Satz, Ohrbach's v.p. fashion director, sees dresses important but in the sportswear mood. Updated layered separates will be narrower through the body with broader shoulders, mobile skirts. Evening clothes, knee-covering, ankle- or floor-length, will be very décolleté and in lush fabrics, matte jersey or taffeta. There will be a blizzard of white and many plaids.

Bill Blass: We can never get away from trousers and separates, the modern way of dressing women. Classics will go on . . . it has to do with the way we live, our nostalgia for happier, more secure periods. Men's clothes will get more traditional, the white shirt with buttondown collar big again. Men got too carried away



BROOKS



SATZ

with so much matching which, unless put together with great style, was a disaster. We're re-evaluating our standards, wanting things of quality. They give us a sense of stability.

Beth Levine: Shoes will show way-out contrast, from Chinese flats with comfortable decorative soles to solid heels three-and-a-half inches high. In between there will be more Oriental-inspired wedges, platforms, clogs. And the high rounded toe recalling Girl Crazy and Marilyn Monroe. For young girls who never wore these sexy shoes, they'll be news. For the rest, a tongue-in-cheek fashion. Boots will continue in pull-ons easy as stockings and with sole interest.

Rosalind Gersten, Macy's v.p. fashion director: Look for a new classic. New uses of the haberdasher look in shirtings, men's wear glen plaids and Donegals, many mixed patterns. Sportswear will continue enormous. Traditional dark fall neutrals will be accented with clear Chinese lacquer colors.

Halston: For day it will be simply sweater sets, pants, comfortable walking shoes, leathers. For night, it's more and more nudity, the sexiest dress looking like a bra and long skirt in back. Or loose pants with only a bra top. Other clothes will emphasize, but not expose, the roundness of the bosom, shoulders, back. Just as sexy will be the loose cashmere or thin silk caftans looking like nothing's underneath.

The slithering floor-length cashmere sweater dress that shows every line is the news. "Women are taking good care of their figures and men like to see what a woman is rather than camouflaged — pushed up, pulled down, squeezed in," Halston concludes.

Monsieur Marc: The long shag and long stringy hair are out. Hair is coming toward the face, if not with bangs then with natural feathery softness. Bangs will be asymmetric, like the whole hairdo which is small—the asymmetric line interesting and individual. Hair cut shorter and soft all around stays healthier than long lanky tresses, which split at the ends, says Marc.

Kenneth sees more people "into hairdos," doing something different, occasionally, for day or a special evening—a changing they haven't done in several years. Wigs will continue important because of the tremendous variety of style. In a tough year, more women have been wanting total salon service — saunas to hair sets. A trend: The Twiggy thing in "Boy Friend." "Because it's a hell of a good way to get out of that layered shag and swing into Twiggy's shell shape, which works for every hair texture. There will be more demand for education. Women are wanting all sorts of beauty instruction."



Prints, vivid color and quilting highlight latest ski clothes. Here Kathy McKeany models Liberty print in water-repellent polyester cotton. Jacket and over-the-boot pants are quilted. From Saks' Active Sportswear Shop.

Warm-up pants and bright colors also update men's ski wear. This long zip-front jacket with convertible hood is orange with navy trim, the pants purple or navy. All nylon, they're \$30 each in Ohrbach's Lower Level Men's Shop.



Quilted jumpsuit with knitted midriff and collar looks new in rose-pink or blue cotton denim. Also at Saks, it's from a group priced \$45 to \$100.



HALSTON



LEVINE



Dear Abby

ABIGAIL VAN BUREN

DEAR ABBY: A letter in your column signed "BUGGED," about the guests not eating, but taking the refreshments home, prompts this letter.

Is it considered proper to take refreshments home? I'm sick of preparing (and buying) goodies for guests who ask if they can take some home to their husbands and children. It happens at parties and showers. It even happened at my wedding. (Even though we ordered the cake for 75 to 100 extra people, there wasn't even a piece left for me to taste!)

How can this piggish practice of taking refreshments home from parties be

brought to an end?

—ALSO BUGGED

DEAR ALSO: It probably can't. Some hostesses insist that their guests take home the leftover goodies. Not all are motivated by generosity, they just don't want the tempting stuff around.

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DEAR ABBY: My son is 15 and he thinks he is in love.

The person he is in love with is two years younger than I am, and I am 34.

Would you put a stop to this romance, or would you let it go on? My son said if I tried to put a stop to it I might just as well forget him as a son.

I could press charges against the woman, but she

has had her share of problems, and I don't want to put her through any more. She left a very good husband for my son, and although I think she must be crazy to want a 15-year-old kid, she does treat him awfully good.

If you have any advice for me, please hurry it.

—NERVOUS

DEAR NERVOUS: Unless you want to press charges against the woman, there is nothing you can do.

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Confidential to F. D. J.: Beware of statistics! They can make a case for almost any point one wants to prove—depending upon a variety of factors. For instance: Statis-

tics showed that Switzerland ranked Number One in the increase of unemployed over the last year.

Those statistics would indicate that the glorious little country which so many regard as the ideal place to live has suffered a tremendous economic blow. The FACT IS: In 1970 there were 34 jobless men in Switzerland, and in 1971 the unemployment figure rose to a grand total of 51! Ha!

What's your problem? You'll feel better if you get it off your chest. Write to ABBY, New York Post, 210 South St., New York 10002. For a personal reply enclose stamped, addressed envelope.